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UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER.

At the close of the year — the following advertisement appeared in a newspaper published in Richmond, the capital of the State of Virginia:

“*Notice.*—Thirty-eight negroes will be offered for sale on Monday, November 10th, at twelve o'clock, being the entire stock of the late John Graves, Esq. The negroes are in good condition, some of them very prime; among them are several mechanics, able-bodied field-hands, plough-boys, and women with children at the breast, and some of them very prolific in their generating qualities, affording a rare opportunity to any one who wishes to raise a strong and healthy lot of servants for their own use. Also several mulatto girls of rare personal qualities: two of them very superior. Any gentleman or lady wishing to purchase, can take any of the above slaves on trial for a week, for which no charge will be made.”

Amongst the above slaves to be sold were Currer and her two daughters, Clotel and Althesa; the latter were the girls spoken of in the advertisement as “very superior.” Currer was a bright mulatto, and of prepossessing appearance, though then nearly forty years of age. She had hired her time for more than twenty years, during which time she had lived in Richmond. In her younger days, Currer had been the housekeeper of a young slaveholder; but of later years had been a laundress or washerwoman, and was considered to be a woman of great taste in getting up linen. The gentleman for whom she had kept house was Thomas Jefferson,

by whom she had two daughters. Jefferson being called to Washington to fill a government appointment, Currer was left behind, and thus she took herself to the business of washing, by which means she paid her master, Mr. Graves, and supported herself and two children. At the time of the decease of her master, Currer's daughters, Clotel and Althesa, were aged respectively sixteen and fourteen years, and both, like most of their own sex in America, were well-grown. Currer early resolved to bring her daughters up as ladies, as she termed it, and therefore imposed little or no work upon them. As her daughters grew older, Currer had to pay a stipulated price for them; yet her notoriety as a laundress of the first class, enabled her to put an extra price upon her charges, and thus she and her daughters lived in comparative luxury. To bring up Clotel and Althesa to attract attention, and especially at balls and parties, was the great aim of Currer. Although the term “negro ball” is applied to most of these gatherings, yet a majority of the attendants are often whites. Nearly all the negro parties in the cities and towns of the Southern States are made up of quadroon and mulatto girls, and white men. These are democratic gatherings, where gentlemen-shopkeepers and their clerks all appear upon terms of perfect equality. And there is a degree of gentility and decorum in these companies that is not surpassed by similar gatherings of white people in the Slave States. It was at one of these parties that Horatio Green, the son of a wealthy gentleman of Richmond, was first introduced to Clotel.

The young man had just returned from college, and was in his twenty-second year. Clotel was sixteen, and was admitted by all to be the most beautiful girl, coloured or white, in the city. So attentive was the young man to the quadroon during the evening that it was noticed by all, and became a matter of general conversation; while Currer appeared delighted beyond measure at her daughter's conquest. From that evening, young Green became the favourite visitor at Currer's house. He soon promised to purchase Clotel, as speedily as it could be effected, and make her mistress of her own dwelling; and Currer looked with pride to the time when she should see her daughter emancipated and free. It was a beautiful moonlight night in August, when all who reside in tropical climes are eagerly gasping for a breath of fresh air, that Horatio Green was seated in the small garden behind Currer's cottage, with the object of his affection by his side. And it was here that Horatio drew from his pocket the newspaper, wet from the press, and read the advertisement for the sale of the slaves to which we have alluded; Currer and her two daughters being of the number. At the close of the evening's visit, and as the young man was leaving, he said to the girl, "You shall soon be free and your own mistress."

As might have been expected, the day of sale brought an unusually large number together to compete for the property to be sold. Farmers who make a business of raising slaves for the market were there; slave-traders and speculators were also numerously represented; and in the midst of this throng was one who felt a deeper interest in the result of the sale than any other of the bystanders; this was young Green. True to his promise, he was there with a blank bank-check in his pocket, awaiting with impatience to enter the list as a bidder for the beautiful slave. The less valuable slaves were first placed upon the auction-block, one after another, and sold to the highest bidder. Husbands and wives were separated with a degree of indifference that is unknown in any other relation of life, except that of slavery. Brothers and sisters were torn from each other; and mothers saw their children leave them for the last time on this earth.

It was late in the day, when the greatest number of persons were thought to be present, that Currer and her daughters were brought forward to the place of sale. Currer was first ordered to ascend the auction-stand, which she did with a trembling step. The slave mother was sold to a trader. Althesa, the youngest, and who was scarcely less beautiful than her sister, was sold to the same trader for one thousand dollars. Clotel was the last, and as was expected, commanded a higher price than any that had been offered

for sale that day. The appearance of Clotel on the auction-block created a deep sensation amongst the crowd. There she stood, with a complexion as white as most of those who were waiting with a wish to become her purchasers; her features as finely defined as any of her sex of pure Anglo-Saxon; her long black wavy hair done up in the neatest manner; her form tall and graceful, and her whole appearance indicating one superior to her position. The auctioneer commenced by saying, that "Miss Clotel had been reserved for the last, because she was the most valuable. How much, gentlemen? Real Albino, a fit fancy girl for any one. She enjoys good health, and has a sweet temper. How much do you say?" "Five hundred dollars." "Only five hundred dollars for such a girl as this? Gentlemen, she is worth a deal more than that sum; you certainly don't know the value of the article you are bidding upon. Here gentlemen, I hold in my hand a paper certifying that she has a good moral character." "Seven hundred." "Ah, gentlemen, that is something like. This paper also states that she is very intelligent." "Eight hundred." "She is a devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy." "Nine hundred." "Nine, fifty." "Ten." "Eleven." "Twelve hundred." Here the sale came to a dead stand. The auctioneer stopped, looked around, and began in a rough manner to relate some anecdotes relative to the sale of slaves, which, he said, had come under his own observation. At this juncture the scene was indeed strange. Laughing, joking, swearing, smoking, spitting, and talking kept up a continual hum and noise amongst the crowd; while the slave girl stood with tears in her eyes, at one time looking towards her mother and sister, and at another towards the young man whom she hoped would become her purchaser. "The chastity of this girl is pure; she has never been from under her mother's care; she is a virtuous creature." "Thirteen." "Fourteen." "Fifteen." "Fifteen hundred dollars," cried the auctioneer, and the maiden was struck for that sum. This was a Southern auction, at which the bones, muscles, sinews, blood, and nerves of a young lady of sixteen were sold for five hundred dollars; her moral character for two hundred; her improved intellect for one hundred; her Christianity for three hundred; and her chastity and virtue for four hundred dollars more. And this, too, in a city thronged with churches, whose tall spires look like so many signals pointing to heaven, and whose ministers preach that slavery is a God-ordained institution!

What words can tell the inhumanity, the atrocity, and the immorality of that doctrine, which, from exalted office, commends such a crime to the favour of enlightened and Christian people? What indignation from all the

world is not due to the Government and people who put forth all their strength and power to keep in existence such an institution? Nature abhors it; the age repels it; and Christianity needs all her meekness to forgive it.

Clotel was sold for fifteen hundred dollars, but her purchaser was Horatio Green. Thus closed a negro sale, at which two daughters of Thomas Jefferson, the writer of the Declaration of American Independence, and one of the Presidents of the Great Republic, were disposed of to the highest bidder!—(*Clotel, or the President's Daughter.* By William Wells Brown.)

OUR ADDRESS TO CHURCHES.

We had hoped to conclude, in the present number, (the last of the series for this year,) our record of responses to the *Address to Churches* issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, in April last. Press of matter, however, compels us to postpone the completion of the list until our next.

At the *South Devon Congregational Union Annual Meeting*, Torquay, April 21, 1853, Mr. Pyer presented a communication from the *Anti-Slavery Society*; whereupon it was resolved:—

"That this Union having, at its last annual meeting, entered its solemn protest against the enormous iniquity of American slavery, desires to record anew its conviction on a subject so increasingly urgent. It feels deeply humbled in knowing that many transatlantic churches of Christ not only practise, but systematically advocate the sin of holding their fellow-men, yea, their fellow-believers, in mere chattel bondage; and it further declares it to be its solemn and deliberate conclusion, that until such churches clear themselves of this guilty enormity, they stand self-excluded from the rights of fraternization, which, otherwise, this Union would feel it to be both a precious privilege and a sacred duty to accord to them."

Resolved:—

"That the Secretary be instructed to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, with a request that they will cause it to be published, both in this country and in the United States of America, in such form and manner as shall appear to them advisable.

"N. HURRY, *Chairman.*

"JOHN PYER, *Secretary.*"

Resolution passed at the *Gloucestershire Association of Baptist Churches*, which met at Ross, on the 17th and 18th May, 1853:—

"That this Association renews its expression of regret at the continuation of American slavery, and its Fugitive Slave Law, with their inseparable evils; and that a large proportion of the ministers and members of the churches of our denomina-

tion, in the United States, continue to uphold the iniquitous system. This Association, moreover, would cordially welcome to our shores Mrs. H. B. Stowe, and unite with her, in the earnest hope and fervent prayer, that the day may speedily arrive, when every yoke shall be broken, and every enslaved child of Adam shall go free."

British and Foreign Unitarian Association.—At the annual meeting of this body, held on Wednesday, May 18, the Report stated, that in consequence of the applications made to the Committee to comply with the request of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, in their Address to Christian Churches, a resolution relative to slavery in America would be brought forward at the evening meeting. Upwards of 400 members of the Unitarian body assembled on that occasion, H. Crabb Robinson, Esq., in the chair; when the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Estlin, seconded by the Rev. E. Talbot, of Tenterden, and passed unanimously:—

"That while this meeting would cherish the honoured names of their brethren in the United States, who have laboured earnestly and successfully in the illustration and defence of their common faith, and sincerely desire to draw closer the links of fraternal feeling which bind them together, it cannot but deeply deplore the fearful injury to the cause of pure Christianity, from the continuance of slavery in America, and would affectionately entreat the Unitarian churches of that land, in some way corresponding with their social position and elevated religious principles, to bear their testimony against this great evil."

At a meeting of the members of the *Baptist Church*, worshipping in the *Great Whyte Chapel, Ramsey, Huntingdonshire*, convened on Sabbath-day, June 26th, 1853, the Pastor, the Rev. P. H. Cornford, in the chair, it was unanimously resolved,

"I. That this church having had specially presented to its consideration the subject of 'Slavery in its relations with the Church of Christ,' has learned with extreme amazement and sorrow the following facts, viz.:—

"1. That the ministers and members of Baptist Churches in the United States of America possess no less than 226,000 slaves; whilst an aggregate of more than 660,000 are held by the ministers and members of other sections of the Protestant Church.

"2. That the *American Board for Foreign Missions* is in all its aspects and operations intimately allied with the system of slavery; that the *American Home Missionary Society* has not less than fifty-six churches in the slave States all open to communion with slaveholders; and that the *American Bible Society*, the *American Baptist Missionary Union*, the *American Baptist Home Missionary Society*, the *American Baptist Publication Society*, the *American Bible Union*, the *American and Foreign Bible Society*, the *American Tract Society*, the *American Sunday School Union*, the *Protestant Methodist Missionary Society*, the *Episcopal Methodist Missionary Society*, and the *Moravian Missionary Society*,

all and severally unite in encouraging and sustaining the system of slavery!

"II. That this church, cherishing the solemn conviction that Christianity is essentially a system of holy principles, embodying alike the purest love towards God and towards man, and being assured of the utter incompatibility of slavery with such love, and therefore with all Christianity, feels itself constrained with united voice to assert its abhorrence of slavery as a fearful crime, based upon principles so essentially iniquitous that no circumstances can render it congruous with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of Christ.

"III. That this church, recognising the supreme right of the Creator and Redeemer to every human body as a habitation for His own abode, 'through the Spirit,' cannot do otherwise than regard the assertion of a claim by any man to the possession and supreme control of his fellow-man as an act of direct hostility to the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore, in every case, utterly at variance with Christian principles, and the Christian character.

"IV. That while it is confessed there may exist many and great difficulties in arrest of the immediate enfranchisement of multitudes of enslaved men, and women, and children, this church has never considered, and never can allow, that the difficulty of doing right constitutes an excuse for the prolongation of a wrong; and, therefore, in the great name of Him who has said, '*all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*' it solemnly exhorts and entreats every avowed Christian in the United States of America at once and for ever to renounce all participation in so grievous a sin—to 'take up the cross' of needful suffering, and thus to glorify the Son of God, 'who gave Himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'

"V. That these resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, with the request that he will kindly endeavour to give such effect to them as may appear best adapted to awaken the attention of our Christian brethren in the United States to that evil thing amongst themselves upon which we look with equal astonishment and grief.

"Signed on behalf of the Church,
"P. H. CORNFORD, Pastor."

Resolution on American Slavery, adopted at the *Twenty-third Annual Assembly* of the *Congregational Union of England and Wales*. Rev. J. Alexander, of Norwich, in the chair. Moved by the Rev. Thos. Binney; seconded by the Rev. J. B. Brown, B.A.; supported by the Rev. J. A. James.

"This assembly feels called upon at the present sessions to repeat the expression of its most emphatic condemnation of the principle and practice of negro slavery. It regards the principle of this sinful and cruel system as flagrantly at variance with both the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of Him who made himself the brother of every member of the human family, however degraded and helpless, while the practice seems to them fearfully destructive of the physical, mental,

and moral life of those who are the helpless victims of its miseries and wrongs.

"This assembly does not forget that the passing of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies and dependencies of Great Britain is probably within the memory of the youngest of its members. It would speak, therefore, with that forbearance which so recent a participation in the sin which it denounces demands, while it entertains the conviction that the price by which the abolition was purchased, justifies any assembly of Englishmen in addressing any nation in the world with earnestness and emphasis on behalf of the slave. The assembly would cherish and express a deep sense of the difficulties with which, in the United States, this question is cumbered, but it would earnestly press on the consideration of every true disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ its own most solemn convictions, that no social questions, however important, ought to be allowed to perplex a movement in which the 'right' may be so plainly seen; and that no political expediencies whatever can qualify the evil, or justify the wrong involved in the very word—'*a slave*.'

"It believes that the slave system must eat like a canker into the very heart of the prosperity of any nation which maintains it; and that the settlement of this question in accordance with the laws of the God of truth and love, would relieve the United States of America of many difficulties which threaten to disturb their social and political tranquillity, and would place the American people, without any stain or detriment, in the foremost rank of the leaders of the progress of the world.

"Finally, it considers that however, in times of great mental and moral darkness, even Christian communities may be blind to the truth upon important moral questions, the maintenance of the slave system, in the present state of Christian intelligence, cannot but be a flagrant sin in all professed disciples of Jesus; and it earnestly entreats all its brethren in Christ to receive from men, who have shown their sincerity in this cause by something more than words, this appeal to their Christian convictions, on their Christian relation as friends and helpers to all the oppressed and enslaved, and to adopt such measures as may seem to them desirable, to efface this stain from their otherwise glorious land.

"GEORGE SMITH, } Secretaries."
"ROBERT ASHTON, }

In relation to the foregoing resolution, we deem it right, for obvious reasons, to append an extract from a letter addressed to us by the Secretary of the *Congregational Union*, and which accompanied the document now cited:

"June 24, 1853.

"DEAR SIR,—On looking through the Address of your Committee to Christians and Christian Ministers, dated April 1, 1853, it occurs to me that you probably are not aware of the extent to which the Congregational Churches of the United States have committed themselves against the institution of slavery. They do not, indeed, appear in your list of churches implicated in slaveholding; but I think it ought to be known, that by the General Congregational Convention, held at Albany, in October last, it was specially resolved,

"That it is the duty of missionary societies to

grant aid to churches in slaveholding States in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that with the blessing of God it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong.

"More to the same effect you may find at page 286 of the 'Congregational Year Book for 1853.' This will, I trust, entitle the Congregational Churches of the United States to be placed in the list of the enemies of slavery.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

"G. SMITH, Secretary.

"Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow."

ENGLAND, CUBA, AND THE UNITED STATES.

In consequence of some very extraordinary rumours that have recently been in circulation in this country, having their origin in the United States, and of the credence with which these rumours have been received; in consequence, further, of the importance attached to them as being founded on fact, and of the fiery articles they have provoked in some of the most respectable and influential American journals; and last, though not least, in consequence of the apprehensions manifested by some of our friends, founded on these reports, that England is about to co-operate in a scheme for the introduction of an apprenticeship system in Cuba, (though she abandoned a similar system in the West Indies, on account of its inherent viciousness;) we feel it to be our duty to call the attention of the Anti-slavery public to the subjoined correspondence from the *Times* of the 17th ult., which has recently taken place on this subject between F. P. Corbin, Esq., of Virginia, and Lord Howden. After this denial, which may be regarded as official, we hope to hear no more of these false and absurd rumours.

"Paris, Nov. 14th.

"DEAR LORD HOWDEN,—I have been ruminating upon some of the topics of our conversation yesterday evening on American affairs, not 'chewing the cud' of any 'bitter fancy,' for of that ingredient not a scruple ever escaped your lips during all our long and friendly intercourse, when my countrymen, or country and its institutions, were the theme. One of the subjects to which I allude, and with reference to which your Lordship spoke so frankly, is the suspected coquetry (I will not say intrigue) which England is said to be practising with Spain, in order to control the ulterior 'destiny' of the island of Cuba, and, meantime, to regulate its internal government and change its social economy in at least one pregnant sense of the latter expression. On this head some of the leading, and, from their relations to the Federal Government, most authoritative journals in the United States have, in my belief

as erroneously as too hastily, imputed to Downing-street, and to your Lordship specifically, under inspirations from that far-famed locality, the design of 'Africanizing' the 'Queen of the Antilles.' As the most efficient auxiliary to this end, she is not only to be allowed to import *ad libitum*, but to be incontinently aided in importing the aboriginal sons and daughters of Ham in masses, 'innumerable by numbers that have a name,' thereby rendering her not only, as is supposed, a dangerous neighbour, but an unenviable possession in the paulo-post-future for the 'insatiate archers' on her northern flank. Now, the whole range and precise *modus operandi* of this portentous scheme I pretend not to comprehend even darkly, much less to indicate the ways and means, open or subdolous, by which it is to be carried into effect. I cannot do more, therefore, to enlighten you on the subject, than to commend to your attention two or three articles, with the commentaries thereon, contained in some of the Washington and other papers, herewith sent, and which I have just received. Among them are the *National Intelligencer* and the *Union*—journals of repute, and conducted with sagacity; and both, it is believed, incapable of inventing or perverting facts upon any subject; and, least of all, upon one of so much 'pith and moment' in a national, not a party point of view. Whence the information was derived, or how transmitted, upon which their several speculations or previsions are founded, it is not now important to your Lordship, any more than it is to the object of this note, to inquire. That it has a *cis*-Atlantic origin is next to certain, and therefore the sooner it is, in the interest of truth and of both countries, nullified by an authentic contradiction, the better. You will perceive that the American papers are discussing the subject under different points of view, as best suits party purposes; but they nearly all deprecate, and with notable vivacity of expression, the project which England is said to have ever and anon in her 'mind's eye,' of trying to effect the early manumission of the slaves of Cuba. To this end the poor African is to be rescued from his thirsty deserts and the pursuit of his man-eating *compatriotes*, and consigned, with exquisite humanity, to a servitude under the name of 'probationary apprenticeship' of ten years. At the expiration of that period, if he be reported alive—and hard-winking captains-general do not, for the sake of their pockets, extend the term to that of his natural life—he is to be set free from his friends, and no more cared for by them; the 'world all before him, and Providence his guide.' Now, my Lord, it is hardly necessary for me to assure you that my faith is not facile enough to credit the existence, or the proximate contemplation, on the part of your Government, of any such bold and bootless experiment—profitless, because its results would be mischievous to the poor negro himself. In addressing you this letter, I build largely, but I hope not too boldly, upon the genial disposition which, for long years, you have manifested towards myself, and, if possible, still more upon the friendly sentiments and lofty, unprejudiced, views which you have always entertained towards the United States. But as the subject is a delicate one for you in your official position to treat further than a correction of the statements here

referred to, I would have you dispose of it as you deem 'wisest, discreetest, best.'

"Meantime, as always, I remain, my Lord, very faithfully and sincerely yours,

"F. P. CORBIN, of Virginia.

"To Lord Howden, &c."

"Paris, Nov. 14th.

"MY DEAR CORBIN,—I have this moment received your letter of yesterday, and I can assure you that it has not in the least embarrassed me. Our long friendship gives you a perfect right to ask me any questions that in a public situation I can answer with propriety, and your tact will have told you that in the present case I must be fully as anxious to impart the truth as you can be to know it. I have read the strange statements you have sent me about England wishing to 'Africanize' Cuba, and about the arrangements which I have been making at Madrid to that effect. I give you, in the most solemn manner such laughable (though wicked) fabrications allow, my unqualified contradiction of the whole matter. I have not the slightest hesitation in telling you what have been, during the last three years, my negotiations with the Spanish Government respecting Cuba, and you will see whether there is even the slightest foundation for rumours which seem to have been most sedulously spread abroad in the United States. First, I have been making unceasing representations at the number of slaves annually imported into the island, and complaints of the almost open manner in which the traffic was carried on under the very noses of the captains-general, always excepting the excellent General Concha. Secondly, I have been making fruitless attempts to get the Spanish Government to declare the abominable traffic in men piracy, that is to say, to follow the example of the United States in this particular. Thirdly, I passed my time in anxious solicitations to obtain the ultimate and complete freedom of those negroes called 'Emancipados,' who have been fraudulently detained in bondage since the year 1817, in disregard of treaties. I rejoice to say that the Spanish Government has listened to the dictates of justice and humanity, and has granted me this boon. Fourthly, I have been endeavouring to procure an abrogation of that intolerant and immoral law, by which foreigners, wishing to settle in Cuba, are obliged to change their religion, on the somewhat startling principle (not understood elsewhere) that becoming bad men is a satisfactory preliminary to becoming good subjects. To these official negotiations I have added, at various times, friendly and official exhortations to improve the internal system of the island, by facilitating the administration of justice, and by liberalizing the nominations to office and employment among the natives of the island. You will see what I really have done, or rather attempted to do, is very different from what I am said to have done in your papers. When the true state of the case is known, and ignorance or malevolence dispelled, I even reckon upon the good wishes of your countrymen in the success of the measures I ask, so consonant with your own laws and institutions. In all that I have here told you with entire candour, the United States can only see the natural working of England's declared and unchanging

policy in a cause which is dear to her, and Spain herself must feel that, in days like these, unless she executes her engagements and modifies her intolerance, she can never hope to enter again, and as she ought to do, into the hierarchy of nations.

"Believe me, my dear Corbin, with great regard, yours sincerely,

"F. Corbin, Esq., Paris.

"HOWDEN."

PROFESSOR STOWE AND THE COTTON QUESTION.

The following extracts from a letter of Professor Stowe's to the Editor of the *National Era*, appeared in that paper of the 27th of October last:

"Cotton has now come to be, in the civilized world, as much a necessary of life as corn. Slaveholders have now, in effect, the monopoly of cotton-growing. So long as they have this monopoly, they never will take any measures for the abolition of slavery.

"As matters now stand, therefore, free-grown cotton is an essential, an indispensable, requisite as to the abolition of slavery.

"It is possible to raise cotton by free labour; and though at first it may be attended by some loss, it can eventually be raised by free more economically than by slave labour. This is made obvious, by comparing the moderate price of free labour with the enormous outlay of capital and constant risk of heavy loss attendant on slave labour.

"It is, therefore, a plain duty of all who desire the abolition of slavery, to do what in them lies to encourage free-labour produce, and discourage slave-labour produce. To do what they can and *all they can* in this way is their obvious duty, though impossibilities are not required of them, nor anybody else. A little consultation, a little concert, a little self-denial, and a little effort, would soon show them that they have vastly more of power in this direction than they have any idea of.

"As Great Britain is the greatest consumer of cotton in the world, and derives the greatest pecuniary advantage from it; as her colonies have the best soil and climate for cotton growing and the best means for procuring free labourers, and as she stands prominently before the world as the great anti-slavery nation of the earth, with resources both of capital and intellect—of enterprise and political influence—of military and naval strength—and of territorial extent almost boundless—it is peculiarly the duty of Great Britain to attend to this matter, and *at least to make the effort* to supply herself with free-grown cotton, at whatever cost of money or labour. This she must do, if she will work effectively to the destruction of slavery throughout the world.

"This is what I have thought and said,

and that is all I have thought and said on this matter; and though bitterly reproached for it, both by Pro-slavery men and Anti-slavery men, I still believe it all to be true and right, and shall insist upon it as such, till the contrary is shown.

"As to urging the cessation of *moral means*, or advising the transportation of Coolies or Chinamen to work for sixpence a day, nothing of the kind ever entered my head or fell from my lips."

The Editor of the *National Era*, of the above date, makes the following comments:

"We take pleasure in publishing extracts from a letter received by us lately from Professor Stowe. The reporters of his speeches in England did him injustice in representing him as willing to degrade and cheapen free labour for the sake of putting an end to slave labour. His views in regard to the cotton-growing monopoly certainly do not differ much from those entertained by slaveholders themselves. It is this monopoly which, in their opinion, makes slave labour profitable, and they tell us that so long as this shall continue they will maintain the system. We are not prepared to say that the growth of free cotton is 'an essential and indispensable requisite to the abolition of slavery,' but it is evident that whatever tends to interfere with the slaveholder's monopoly of cotton growing, or to reduce the profits of slave labour, will favour the abolition of the system.

"There is nothing in the views of Professor Stowe which can expose him justly to denunciation, or subject to suspicion his patriotism or his philanthropy."

TRIBUTE TO MRS. STOWE.

We beg to inform our friends, that the Subscription to the Stowe Testimonial will be closed on the 31st of December instant. We are sorry to learn that the amount subscribed is still short, by nearly £200, of the sum which it was proposed to raise, namely, £2000. We hope those who have not yet contributed will enable the Committee to complete the original project. Several of the most wealthy places, such as London and Manchester, have sent scarcely anything, whilst Birmingham has subscribed upwards of £200. Bristol nearly £70. Leicester, £38. Dewsbury, £38, &c.

Donations are received by GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Esq., No. 40, Lombard-street, London; and by MARIA CADBURY, Calthorpe-street, Birmingham.

Miscellaneous.

THE MINISTER HUNTING HIS SLAVE.—About fifteen years ago there came to Indianapolis,

Indiana, a coloured man, named John Freeman. He brought with him some few hundred dollars, a part of which he invested in real estate. He was a painter, whitewasher, and man of all work. He married a young woman who was servant in a family here. His deportment won for him general respect and confidence. He rapidly increased in property, and is now worth about six thousand dollars, which, for that community, is a very handsome property. No man's word was better than Freeman's. He was honest, punctual, and reliable. He became an active member of the coloured Baptist Church, and conscientiously discharged his duties as a church member. He has a family of three children. On the 23rd of June a man named Pleasant Ellington, formerly from Kentucky, now of Missouri, who is, we understand, a Methodist preacher, appeared in Indianapolis, and found miscreants base enough to assist him in arresting Freeman upon the claim that he was his slave. Freeman claims that he is a free man, and shows many papers recognising that fact. The judge has granted nine weeks for Freeman to procure further evidence of his freedom.

There are some facts that have come to our knowledge which it will be edifying to disseminate.

When Freeman's arrest was known the whole community was moved. One hundred men of all parties, and of the first standing in the place—such as Judge Blackford, Judge Wick, Mr. N. B. Palmer, Mr. Calvin Fletcher, and many other such—signed a bond for bail for the sum of one thousand six hundred dollars. The amount, in gold, was brought into Court, to be deposited for the preacher Ellington, in case Freeman proved a slave, should not appear, or for his freedom in any event. The bail was refused. The Rev. Mr. Ellington refused to agree to take any price should he get possession of him, but determined to take him to Missouri.

Under a pretence that he feared a rescue, the marshal was about to remove Freeman to Madison Gaol, on the Ohio river, but has consented to leave him in the gaol at Indianapolis, on condition that Freeman pays three dollars a day for a guard to watch over himself!

We have some good but dull men in New York, who have denied that Christian men and families were subject to separation and sale under the system of slavery. It is said that to represent such scenes as Uncle Tom's separation from his family and his wife is a slander.

Yet, here is a preacher of the Gospel making a pilgrimage of more than half-a-thousand miles to find and arrest a member of a Christian church, in a free State, and drag him into slavery. He finds him settled down in a home which his own industry has secured, with a wife and three children, a useful and greatly respected citizen. One would think that a man with a particle of humanity, even if Freeman were his slave, upon seeing such a state of things, would refuse to break up and desolate a family and blight the prospects of a fellow-man and Christian. But so deeply has this fellow drunk of the "spirit of patriotism" that he determines to make the mischief. Bonds and security were offered him the most ample, for any price that he might demand, in

case Freeman should be proved his slave. He refused everything. He demanded the man, and declared that he would remove him to a slave State and to slavery!

A man that can read such a state of facts, and not feel his heart rising with indignation against this scoundrel clergyman, ought to regard himself as having sinned away his day of grace, and as sealed over to reprobation.

And yet, is this man any worse than the law allows?—has he done anything illegal? This American people have laws by which men may violate every sentiment of humanity, smother every breath of Christianity, outrage the feelings of a whole community, crush an innocent and helpless family, reduce a citizen of universal respect and proved integrity to the level of a brute, carry him to the shambles, sell him for ever away from his church, his children, and wife; all this may be done without violating the laws of the land—nay, by the laws and under the direction of magistrates.

And so deadening has been the influence of slavery upon the public mind, that religious teachers and religious editors will not find a single word to say against this utter abomination, and many pious words will they utter in favour of this execrable traffic.

Meanwhile, that same God who permits the existence of tarantulas, scorpions, and other odious vermin, suffers also the existence of such creatures as this Rev. Mr. Ellington. It may serve a good purpose, in a glossing, timid, shuffling age, to exhibit before the sun how utter a villain a man may be, and yet keep within the pale of the law, within the permissions of the church, and within the requirements of the Christian ministry. To crush the human heart, to eat up a living household, to take a family into one's hands and crush it like a cluster of grapes, this is respectable, legal, and Christian, in the estimation of cotton patriots and patriotic Christians, who regard law as greater than justice, the Union as more important than public virtue and practical Christianity.

Such a law as that which permits these scenes will destroy the conscience and humanity of the community, or be itself destroyed by them. A people that have learned to see such sights unmoved are not far from the level of Romans, whose amusements were in blood and death of beasts and gladiators.—*New York Tribune.*

WHAT SLAVERY IS.—“For my own part, if slavery were the physical heaven slaveholders would fain have us believe, I still should hold slavery to be a sin of the deadliest hue, a dark blot upon humanity; for it denies the highest rights of man, his liberty to act in accordance with his own free-will. The slave has no choice what he will do, or what he will leave undone. He is absolutely under the control of a fellow-man. God never willed this; when he gave us free-will, he gave it us to use.

“Slavery then in itself is an evil, and no amount of physical happiness can compensate for its hideous moral and spiritual iniquity.”—*Sermon by the Rev. S. Steinthal, Bridgewater, 1st May, 1853.*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1853.

NOTICE.

We beg respectfully to remind Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that their Subscription will fall due on the 1st of January, 1854, and that the amount thereof may be forwarded, in postage stamps, to Mr. PETER JONES BOLTON, No. 27, New Broadstreet, London. We would also observe, that the new year will present a most favourable opportunity for commencing a new List of Subscribers, and we appeal to our friends to make a vigorous effort to extend our sphere of usefulness. A few copies, neatly bound, of the present series may be had, price FIVE SHILLINGS, on application to the Editor, or to Mr. P. J. BOLTON, as above.

It is particularly requested that parties renewing or commencing their subscriptions will please to forward *their Name and Address in full*, in order to obviate irregularity in the delivery of their copies, several instances of which have occurred, and have been traced to the absence of a precise direction on the wrapper.

The Editor respectfully invites communications on Anti-Slavery matters.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR BARKLY.

The last West India Mails bring us intelligence of the arrival in Jamaica of Sir Henry Barkly, the new Governor of the Island, who left England on the 24th August ult. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* were anxious to present his Excellency with an Address, previously to his departure, but he left England somewhat unexpectedly, and therefore no opportunity was afforded for a Deputation to wait upon him. The Address, however, of which we subjoin a copy, was sent out to him by the next mail, which reached the Island before the *Brisk* (the screw steamer which conveyed his Excellency) arrived.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY BARKLY, KNT., GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society trust that the deep interest which they have long felt in the wel-

fare of the colonies of Great Britain in which slavery formerly existed, will procure a favourable consideration for the few remarks which they are desirous of offering to you on your appointment to the Governorship of Jamaica.

The fact of this island's being so considerable in extent, and by far the largest in population of the British emancipated colonies, appears to have led to the general conclusion that its condition affords a fair criterion of the position of the British West Indies; and hence the pecuniary embarrassment of the planters is adduced by the advocates of slavery as a proof of the failure of negro emancipation.

Erroneous as are such conclusions, in the opinion of the Committee, there can be little doubt that the prominent position occupied by Jamaica renders its prosperity a matter of the utmost importance to the cause of human happiness and improvement; for that prosperity may, by its influence on slaveholding countries, advance, as the absence of it may retard, the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

The knowledge which your Excellency possesses of the British West India colonies, leads them to believe you will agree with the Committee in opinion, not only that emancipation has not been a failure, but that under the benign influence of freedom, the physical, moral and social improvement of the working classes has been as great as could reasonably be expected, and perhaps greater than that of any other population in the same period of time.

The Committee deeply regret that the proprietary interest, in some of our colonies, and especially in Jamaica, has suffered considerably of late, but they cannot concur with those who attribute the embarrassment of the planters to the Act of Emancipation. It is well known that, during the existence of slavery, a vast number of estates were unprofitable, and that a large number were heavily mortgaged. To no colony do these remarks more fully apply than to Jamaica, in which, notwithstanding the possession of 300,000 slaves, a large decrease in the amount of exports had taken place prior to the introduction of freedom. In accordance with these statements, there is documentary evidence to prove that, from the year 1808 until slavery was abolished, petitions and memorials poured in upon the Home Legislature from the planters, supported by their friends in Great Britain, setting forth the distressed condition of the proprietary interest, ascribing it to a variety of causes, and praying for various measures of relief. Similar petitions have since been presented, and fresh complaints urged. The Sugar Act of 1846 has recently been the chief cause of complaint, whilst immigration schemes have been resorted to

as a means of supplying an alleged deficiency of labour.

The Committee fully admit that both the proprietors and cultivators of estates in the British West Indies still have much cause to complain of a measure, by which large quantities of sugar produced by slave-labour were brought into the British market, whilst, as a consequence, the profit of our planters was temporarily destroyed, and the wages of the labourer reduced to an unreasonable and cruel extent. It is now, however, apparently too late to remedy this mischief by an alteration of the Act, and accordingly help must be sought in some other, and perhaps, more effectual method.

The Committee are encouraged in their hopes for the prosperity of Jamaica by the consideration that many of the causes from which the island has suffered are not, or need not be, of a permanent character. Among these have been a succession of unfavourable seasons, and an unusual amount of sickness, arising from cholera and small-pox, which have swept off a considerable number of the working population. To these sources of trial it is not, perhaps, too much to add an expensive executive, a defective administration, and an oppressive system of taxation. To the latter points your Excellency's attention has doubtless been already directed.

The Committee regret that they have not been always able to support measures intended for the relief of the planters. Among these, they have felt it to be a duty to object to immigration as hitherto generally conducted, because it has in many instances been associated with great abuses in procuring immigrants, unjust and oppressive enactments in relation to them, a want of due provision for their domestic and social comfort, both on their way to, and in the colony where their labour was required, and finally, heavy charges on the community into which they have been introduced. The Committee are nevertheless of the judgment that it is desirable to encourage a perfectly free immigration, especially that of free coloured persons from the United States of America and Canada, which they think might be suitably done, by affording facilities for the acquisition of land; by naturalisation after a brief residence; and by the introduction of measures likely to promote the physical and social comfort of the immigrants.

The Committee are at the same time sanguine in the belief that independently of any such means of recruiting the population of Jamaica, there are many ways by which the prosperity and welfare of the island may be promoted; of these measures they deem an encumbered estates bill one of the most important, as it would have the tendency greatly to increase the number of resident proprietors

possessing the capital, energy, and skill, which are needful to the full development of the resources of every locality.

The Committee also think that encouragement should be given to the sale of land to the labourers, as they believe that an increase of the class of small independent proprietors, with cottages and provision grounds of their own, would greatly encourage industrious habits, and lead not only to an augmented supply of necessaries of all kinds, but of the staples for export. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the policy of adopting the most improved modes of cultivating the soil, and of manufacturing sugar, as well as of economizing the expenses on estates with the cost of transit and other charges on shipment. Allusion has already been made to the importance of lightening the burdens which press upon industry by the diminution of taxation. This, the Committee think, should take place to the greatest extent possible that is compatible with the proper maintenance of needful institutions. They submit that a large extension of the elective franchise would be one of the most effectual means of checking any future tendency to extravagant outlay of the island funds, and of leading to an equitable adjustment of taxation.

The Committee hope your Excellency will see it right to promote the improvement of all the means of internal communication, and of drainage where necessary, especially in the neighbourhood of towns, or wherever a large population is located. They may, lastly, be permitted to express their earnest hope that only men of unblemished morality, and otherwise qualified for such situations, will be appointed to the magistracy or other public offices, and that such persons shall be selected irrespective of colour or of religious profession.

The Committee indulge the pleasing expectation and confidence that under a just and enlightened Government, men of capital, of enterprise, and of moral and religious worth, will be attracted from other parts to Jamaica, and that these, in connexion with the present inhabitants, will join in efforts for the advancement of commerce, the arts, industry, education, and religion. Thus, under the blessing of the Almighty, it is not too much to anticipate that an island possessing so many great natural advantages will become, ere many years have elapsed, one of the most flourishing, as it is now one of the most lovely possessions of the British Crown. It is the sincere desire of the Committee that such may be the case under your Excellency's administration.

GEORGE WM. ALEXANDER, *Chairman.*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*

Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, London, 1st September, 1853.

THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Since our last article on this subject, (for which see the August number of the *Reporter*,) we have gathered, from various sources, a few additional facts, proving the extent to which this traffic is carried on, and in what manner the treaties and the cruisers are set at defiance. In our *Reporter* for the month of June last will be found an account of the landing of a cargo of slaves from the *Lady Suffolk*, under circumstances of such signal atrocity, that the subject was mooted in the British Legislature, and probably influenced the Government to accede to Mr. Hume's motion for the appointment of a Committee on the Slave-trade Treaties, a summary of the Report of which we gave in our September number. With reference to this vessel, a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, writing from Laguna de Terminos, gives some particulars which are as curious as they are interesting, and which, whilst throwing a new light on the proceedings of the class of men who are engaged in prosecuting the slave-trade, holds up to public reprobation the functionaries who encourage it. The subjoined reads like a romance.

"On the 30th of May last a vessel entered this port (Laguna de Terminos) with Mexican colours flying, under pretext of seeking freight. She was reported as the *Marianna*, of 410 tons burden, Juan Gutierrez master, from Cienfuegos, in Cuba, in ballast. Her crew was made up of 26 men, all of them old Castilians, and six officers, represented as being passengers. On the 2nd inst. these were discharged, and proceeded hence to Havana, *vid Campeachy*, with the exception of one officer and two or three of the original crew, who remained by her with the master, and a few hands from shore (Mexicans) were sent on board to replace them. The rakish appearance of the ship, the length of her spars, the quantity of sail she displayed, the circumstance of her having on board nearly 300 water casks, with several pieces of artillery below, and the reckless appearance of her men and officers, soon created a suspicion as to her true character; and it was ascertained to a certainty that the vessel had been trading on the coast of Africa, on a slaving voyage, under the command of a notorious character named Vinas, who succeeded in successfully landing a cargo of nearly 1,300 blacks near to Cienfuegos, in the island of Cuba. On the 14th of May last she cleared from there, with the connivance of the Spanish authorities, under the Mexican flag, without any other papers of nationality than a certificate from the Mexican consul at Havana, therein stating, that she sailed with a temporary licence under his seal and signature, bound to Laguna de Terminos, to be nationalized as a Mexican ship, owned in Mexico by one Don Jose Ruiz, a confidential friend of the Dictator of the Republic, Santa Anna. The person in command of her represented her as having originally been the American ship *Mary*, of Boston, lately owned by, and purchased from an American of the name of Smith, but this description of her by no means coincides with this class of vessel.

Behold, however, the *Mary* of Boston, after all this prevarication and deception, changed, as by magic, into the celebrated ship *Lady Suffolk*, of Baltimore, reported as having sailed from Bahia Honda, after putting into Mariel on or about the 22nd of November. Of this being a fact there can be no manner of doubt entertained, as her appearance has been compared with, and ascertained by good judges here to exactly correspond with, the description given of her; viz., her being a Baltimore-built ship, of about 520 tons burden, of a rakish appearance, her hull painted entirely black, with the full-length figure of a woman on her bows, painted white, with gilded wings on her shoulders, in her right hand a gilded trumpet of fame, and in her left a crown or garland, also gilded. After so much daring prevarication on the part of the Spanish and Mexican authorities, in aiding and abetting the present owners of the *Lady Suffolk* in concealing the real name and character of the vessel, to enable her to get in safety to a Mexican port, nothing can be more clear or evident than that there also exists an active co-operation of persons of high authority in Mexico with Spanish merchants in Havana, in promoting and protecting, as far as possible in their power, the piratical pursuit of the slave-trade in vessels purposely built for it in the United States, afterwards manned and equipped at Havana, without papers or colours, for the voyage to the coast of Africa; on the return from which, after safely landing the slaves in Cuba, they secure for themselves a welcome refuge in a Mexican port, under the Mexican flag, which they are allowed to carry by authorisation of a Mexican consul, one of the subaltern tools of the prime agitator of mischief and misdeeds in Mexico. It may be as well to add that the *Lady Suffolk*, after sailing from Bahia Honda, is ascertained to have proceeded to the coast of Africa, with a crew of about 70 persons, and well armed, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, off which she was chased by a British man-of-war; but by superior sailing effected her escape and reached Mozambique, where she purchased a cargo of slaves (although others report the negroes to have been decoyed on board from a Portuguese settlement on the coast, and forcibly carried into slavery), and succeeded in reaching Cienfuegos in safety, where she is said to have landed 1,300 negroes as before stated. This successful voyage of the *Lady Suffolk* will no doubt induce her owners to repeat the experiment; and it is likely that, after receiving on board here a small quantity of logwood for ballast, she will leave this place, to be met off the coast of Yucatan by a vessel from Havana, with a fresh crew and the necessary outfits for a slaving expedition, wherewith she will again return to Africa, to buy or plunder another cargo of slaves, without returning near the cruising ground of the British cruisers off the coast of Cuba. It is very likely that the *Lady Suffolk* will be permitted to sail hence, and to escape out of the Gulf, without being overhauled or captured, as the British consul residing at this place does not appear to concern himself much about it; and it is very possible that he will not think of giving timely advice to the British authorities at Cuba, to give John Bull's 'brazen-bottomed serpents' a chance to keep a vigilant look-out for her."

It appears, however, that "timely advice" was given of the movements of the *Lady Suffolk*, for subsequent accounts state that she had been, at last, captured by H. B. M. brig of war *Daring*. Three American seamen, who were arrested on a charge of being concerned in the slave-trade, made the subjoined statement, whilst in confinement, to the American vice-consul, Judge Sharkey. They had shipped on board the *Lady Suffolk* at New York, bound for Havana, and back to the United States. They arrived at the port of Mariel on the 24th Nov. last, and sailed next day for Bahia Honda, where they arrived about noon on the same day. On the 26th, the captain, Mr. Adams Gray, his son and the steward left the ship, as the sailors supposed, to go to Havana on business. But the same evening, the Spanish steamer *Sirena* came alongside, bringing Captain Eugenio Vinas, and a Spanish crew of seventy men; and soon after, a schooner dropped anchor close alongside the ship, from which were received sixteen 18-pound cannons, an immense quantity of arms and ammunition, water-tanks, shackles, in short, all the appurtenances of a slaver on a grand scale, and which left little doubt in the minds of the American sailors as to the character of the vessel on board of which they were to sail. The Spanish captain tempted them with large offers to join his crew, but they resisted the bribe, and demanded to be put on shore or sent to Havana. Vinas sent them below instead, where they were kept till the ship was ready for sea, and five days afterwards, when twenty miles from land, they were transferred to the steamer *Sirena*, which having towed the *Lady Suffolk* out to sea this distance, returned to Havana, bringing the American sailors with her. They immediately complained to Judge Sharkey of the treatment they had experienced, but the chief personage in the island, finding they were likely to make awkward disclosures, apprehended them on a general charge of having been concerned in an act of piracy—for such is slave-trading considered—and incarcerated them in the Moro, where they yet were when the last advices left, the Captain-general having refused to allow them to make a declaration in a legal form, lest upon it he should be compelled to set them at liberty.

The foregoing facts prove beyond question the complicity of Don Canedo in these nefarious transactions. Captain Adams Gray is known to have delivered the American register of his ship (the *Lady Suffolk*), immediately upon his arrival in port, to Vice-consul Sharkey, and this circumstance must have been duly reported to the Captain-general. Thus the vessel had no documents whatever under which she could navigate; nevertheless, for more than five days she was permitted to remain under the guns of the fort, opposite

the town of Bahia Honda, having on board a crew of seventy or eighty men—a thing in itself suspicious—and during this time they were seen from the shore taking in an immense quantity of provisions, and water in tanks, all denoting but too plainly, the destination of the vessel. The guns, pistols, cutlasses, cannon, and ammunition were also all sent from Havana. Further, this vessel and her large crew left Havana for a neighbouring port, without let or hindrance on the part of the port-captain, Don Marano Luna, although sailors were so scarce at the time, that the regulation which requires that no sailor shall be discharged from or ship on board any vessel without the permission of the port-captain, was being rigorously enforced in respect of ordinary vessels. These facts speak for themselves, and tend to show that the authorities are directly concerned and interested in conniving at the traffic.

With regard to Don Julian Zulueta, whom Canedo had caused to be arrested, but whom he very soon released, it was said that he had gone to Spain, in company with a Mr. Barrow, with the intention of bringing an action against Canedo, for false imprisonment. To understand this piece of news, the reader should know that although the Captain-general had arrested Don Zulueta, it was not on account of his being implicated in the *Lady Suffolk* affair, as is generally believed, but because he had boasted that he enjoyed the full protection of the Captain-general and his officers to land slaves. Don Canedo fearing that if this boast became bruited, in the then state of public feeling in England upon the subject of the slave-trade, something serious might come of it, sent for Zulueta, who, it seems, presuming upon the nature of their secret transactions, treated the Captain-general with disrespect. A violent altercation ensued, which resulted in Don Zulueta's being ordered to present himself, under arrest, at the castle of Cabanas. This he refused to do, and therefore, at half-past eleven the same night, was taken from his house by a guard of soldiers, and conveyed to the prison above-mentioned. It was stated, on what seems reliable authority, that during Zulueta's incarceration Canedo endeavoured to induce him to make a declaration to the effect, namely, "that he had not had official sanction for the introduction of his cargo by the *Lady Suffolk*, and that he had not paid any bonus therefore to the Captain-general of Cuba, his agents, or other officials." This Zulueta refused to do, and Canedo, finding he could not move him, yet being afraid to send him to Spain, because of the influence of his wealth, and the rather near position to the throne, of his friends and associates in business, was at last compelled to set him free, and to run the risk of his bringing against him the heavy charges he could heap on his head.

In consequence of the general outburst of indignation on the part of the British press, at the flagrant violation of our treaties with Spain, and of the unreserved manner in which our journals have expressed their sentiments on this subject, Canedo had sent an order to the post-office authorities, prohibiting the delivery of the English newspapers, especially the *Times* and the *Daily News*.

More recent dates inform us that the cholera had made frightful havoc amongst the slaves. A correspondent of the *Daily News* writes as follows:

"Havana, Sept. 9th.

"The cholera upon the estates in the interior has been of very malignant type, and it is estimated that from twelve to thirteen thousand slaves have fallen victims to the scourge, besides many of the Asiatic apprentices, and white *employés*. Some estates of force, from 250 to 300 people, have been reduced to 80, 100, and 120. Though a little more prudence will mingle with future operations, yet there is no purpose of desisting from the traffic in slaves; and under the pressure of lost labour material this year, most strenuous exertions will be made to fill the demand within six months from the African coast. A well-known agent for the Portuguese Brazilian Company, located at Trinidad, south side, is now expecting five cargoes—looked for daily from the coast—and for which he has made the premonitory pecuniary arrangements with the local authorities of the several municipal jurisdictions, which he may be compelled to use, for transit of the property to the estates of the proprietors.

"Another agent and chief director of the Portuguese Brazilian Company has been for several months in the city of New York, procuring and despatching vessels for the coast—all first-class, fast-sailing vessels, and of capacity, according to the Spanish custom of negro stowage, of carrying from 400 to 1,100 and 1,300 persons. This gentleman is expected here, having concluded plans to embrace the importation of from eight to ten thousand, according to circumstances that may attend the ventures; and after having arranged here for reception and disposition of the cargoes as they may arrive, he will leave for Brazil, and probably to visit the coast. In this connexion, it is here well understood that a screw-steamer is being built in New York, for service on the coast of Africa, that will be adapted for towage, for taking off cargoes to vessels in offing, and for evading the cruisers of England.

"We have rumours of two or three small cargoes landed since my last advice, but I have not been able to obtain the data necessary for a report of the facts; and in this way, at remote points, many negroes are landed, unknown to the Government, but not unknown to the subordinate authorities of the locality, who by concealment defraud the more elevated functionaries of participation in the bonus paid. When discovered, they are made examples of by removal and reprimand—not for dereliction of duty, but for forgetfulness in rendering four-fifths of the plunder. The Asiatics brought here as apprentices under the sanction of the Government are in much worse condition than the negroes, for the simple reason that the planter's

only interest is the amount of money paid for seven years' service, and they are tasked with more severity than the blacks in field labour, and in food stinted to the least possible amount consistent with almost constant labour; while for shelter and clothing they are far from meeting so much consideration as is extended to the blacks. General Canedo seems to be very anxious to establish himself more favourably in your public opinion, and, for some local differences, he had a healing dinner in the palace, where were found, at his unusual hospitable spread, Salvador Sama, and others of the slave-trading fraternity, who had not quite comprehended his imprisonment of Julian Zulueta, and the policy associated therewith. Since commencing this letter, I have ascertained that one of the vessels which was purchased in New York by the agent or director of the Brazilian Company, Abreu, was the American clipper-built barque *Republic*, very much resembling in structure the ship *Lady Suffolk*, having more curvature than slope in her cutwater, and of the same appointments and deck conveniences for her business. It is well understood in Havana that the organisation of the above-named company here, in the United States, and on the coast, is very perfect; that an active agent is always stationed in the city of New York to purchase or hire there vessels most suitable for the slave-trade, or in the neighbouring cities, as may be most convenient; that on the coast there are several, under the control of one of the principals of the enterprise; and that Don Salvador Castro, at Trinidad, has the principal charge of management for the island of Cuba, having his subordinate strikers at every point where it may be necessary for safety to run a cargo, the favourite spot for consummation of this piracy being the 'Rio Zarza'—River Zarza, near to Trinidad. I learn from excellent authority that General Canedo, in a late report to his Government, stated that several vessels which had been reported as slavers were actually engaged in honest and legal traffic, naming the Spanish *Cora* and the American barque *Jasper*; the first having been seized after abandonment and condemned by Spanish justice, having on board the material, water casks, and berth decks which designated her character; while the second has three of her sailors, Americans, yet lying in prison, charged by General Canedo, or his immediate representatives, as being employed on board of the *Jasper* as part of her crew while occupied in piracy as a slaver—the same vessel having also been reported as discovered near to Bailen sunk, where the landing was effected, by an officer of the Government. These misstatements will only serve to make the odium of his official faithlessness more permanent.

"The speculations of this dark character are altogether confined to the Old Spain Spaniards; the Creole planters want no more introduction of slaves, considering both the value and the safety of their present property. Nothing but the most energetic measures on the part of her Majesty's Government will restrain or break up this infamous trade."

As an illustration of the levity with which slaver cases are sometimes disposed of, we append, from a late number of the *Times*, an

extract from the column devoted to *Naval Intelligence*, the subjoined choice piece of news, dating, we believe, from the Havana.

"The *Buzzard*, 6, Commander Dobbie, had detained a slave vessel under Spanish colours; after holding her two months, she was given up by the judicial authorities, not being considered a legal capture; but this decision was, it is said, arrived at in a manner the most unique. There was not an equal number of commissioners to settle the case, and so those present tossed up for choice of decision, and the slave party won the toss."

Another feature in the supply of slaves for Cuba is illustrated by the following letter, published in a comparatively recent number of the *New York Herald*, and penned by a correspondent at Havana.

"If there was a subject with which we believed ourselves thoroughly familiar, that subject was assuredly the slave-trade in Cuba. A few days ago we would have laughed at any one who would have promised us new facts bringing to light a new phase of the system. But Canedo is one of those indefatigable men who are never tired of furnishing us with material for articles. No sooner has he been excoriated on one side than he turns the other to the scourger. British squadrons may prevent his satiating his avarice at the expense of the negroes; but their vigilance is no match for his cupidity; and a fair substitute for the Africans can be found on the American coast.

"Most of our readers are familiar with the peninsula of Yucatan, which juts out from the north of Belize into the Mexican Gulf. A classic interest has been shed upon the locality by the discoveries of Stephens; and the heroic valour and unconquerable independence of the natives have added an additional attraction to the Greece of America. For upwards of two hundred years Mexico has spent her strength in endeavouring to subdue them; but, unlike their brethren of the north, the Indians of Yucatan have retained so much of their native mettle and perseverance as to baffle the most formidable attempts at conquest. A temporary lull in the never-ending hostilities between Mexico and her turbulent province has always been followed by a furious burst of warfare; and though the peninsula is laid down on the map as forming a part of Mexico, though the Republic does exercise rights of sovereignty in the ports, it would be wandering very wide of the truth to designate the inhabitants of the interior as her subjects. As a race, the Yucatan Indians have borrowed little from their more civilised foes. They retain nearly all the characteristics of the savage—are bold, persevering, unalterably attached to their native land, and undaunted in its defence. Their Christianity is a clumsy compromise between catholicism and paganism. In fine, though possessing the usual cunning of the Indians in war, they are easily over-reached by the superior tact and skill of the white men.

"Such is the race from which one of the largest slave dealers of Havana proposes to supply the deficiency which the stringent measures of Great Britain have created in the annual import of slaves. By means of an agent at Belize, this worthy merchant has been in the habit of buying up small

lots of Indians along the coast, at remarkably moderate rates. Twenty-five dollars was all that his conscience would allow him to pay for a man; women were worth seven dollars less; and boys and girls fetched rather more than fat hogs. A comparison of these rates with the market prices in Cuba, will show that this excellent dealer was not far wrong when he styled the operation—'un especulation magnifico.' We can well conceive his wrath when he heard of the summary fashion in which his Belize agent had been arrested by the British authorities. The poor fellow had only succeeded in kidnapping a sorry hundred and thirty of the Yucatanese, and was on the threshold of the fortune which was to crown his efforts. A few months longer, and his coffers would have been full. Alas, for the frailty of human purposes! The English one day got hold of the kidnapping agent, and popped him into gaol. As soon as the affair got wind, Santa Anna was straightway seized with a violent fit of affection for his rebellious subjects in Yucatan, and fulminated a furious letter to his representative at Havana, insisting on the immediate suppression of the traffic, and the restoration of the captives.

"Whether Santa Anna would have taken the initiative and forwarded a remonstrance to Havana as soon as the business came to his ears, if the British authorities at Belize had not moved in the matter, is by no means a settled point. He has no reason for feeling any lively regard for the Indians of the peninsula; on the contrary, it would be rendering him a signal service to rid him of the annoyance they cause his government. True, Canedo and his *protégés* could hardly be expected to depopulate Yucatan, and carry off the whole population into slavery; but what little they did towards this consummation can hardly have proved a subject of poignant regret to the Mexican dictator. It is not unreasonable to regard the despatch recently received at Havana by Don Ramon Carbelló, the Mexican consul, as intended at least as much for outward effect as for any practical purpose.

"Canedo is of course quite ignorant of the whole transaction—as blameless as he was in the matter of the *Lady Suffolk* and her companions."

The most recent information we have on this new feature in the Cuban slave-trade is to the effect that the kidnapping of these Yucatanese into slavery was exciting considerable attention at Havana. The Mexican consul having complained of the outrage in the strongest language to the Captain-general, some sixty of the Indians were brought before him for examination. A notice had been also published, emanating from the Government, and commanding all persons who had assisted in the importation of these Indians, or who had at that time any of them in their employment, to appear before the mayor of the city, or judge of the district, under the penalty of a fine of 500 dollars, and give an account how and where such Indians were obtained. In accordance with such notice, several persons had appeared on the appointed day, when they were informed by the Government *Escribano* that the process having been withdrawn by superior order,

the proceedings were at an end; and that, therefore, the parties who had these Indians in their employ—that is, all persons who had enslaved free citizens of Yucatan—could keep them, and need fear no further molestation from this cause! The kidnapped Indians, therefore, remain slaves in reality. So potent is the influence of doubloons in Cuba!

P.S.—Further intelligence has been yet more recently received from Havana, announcing the landing of several fresh cargoes of slaves, and the recall of the Captain-general of Cuba, Senor Don Canedo.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

We have barely space in our present number to do more than record, that the inauguration of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, Auxiliary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, took place on Thursday evening, the 24th ult., in the Friends' Meeting-house, Manchester, T. Clegg, Esq., in the Chair. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, when the Chairman opened the proceedings it was estimated that from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons were present, amongst whom were the following: J. Kershaw, Esq., M.P., Mr. Alderman Heywood, Mr. Councillor Sankey, Joseph Sturge, George Thompson, T. Binyon, Wilson Crewdson, W. A. Cunningham, John Kirkham, — Carruthers, and R. Ashworth, Esqrs., and other influential gentlemen: and the Revs. Francis Tucker, B.A., W. Traill, G. Hinde, — Scott, Dr. Beard, W. Whitelegge, T. G. Lee, W. Parks, W. Patterson, W. Hacking, G. Robinson, &c.

Thomas Clegg, Esq., the Chairman, explained the objects of the meeting, and gave some interesting facts in connexion with the enterprises which he had instituted to procure cotton from Africa. He also dwelt at some length on the results of emancipation in the West Indies, and quoted from a paper written by E. Forster, Esq., entitled, "British Philanthropy, and West India Distress," setting forth the advantages which emancipation had conferred upon the negro population in those islands.

The Rev. Mr. Scott then moved the following resolution:

"This meeting having heard read the fundamental principles and objects of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, expresses its cordial approval of the same; and resolves that in accordance therewith, the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* be constituted, and be auxiliary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*; and further, that the following gentlemen, having power to add to their number, be a local committee to prosecute the objects of the Association, viz.:—The Rev. George Robinson, Chairman; the Revs. W. Parks, W. Whitelegge, G. Hinde, A. Gilbert, and Messrs. N. Caird,

C. Thompson, Alfred Fryer, John Brown, J. Waters, and John Kirkham. Messrs A. Weston and F. W. Chesson, *Hon. Secs.*"

This resolution having been seconded by the Rev. G. Hinde, Mr. Joseph Sturge read extracts from letters recently received from Professor and Mrs. Stowe, stating that the Free-labour movement is gaining ground in the United States, and that the *Liberator*, the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, have expressed their concurrence in it, as a legitimate Anti-slavery instrumentality, but not to the exclusion of other agencies.

The meeting was next addressed by Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow; after which the resolution was put and unanimously carried.

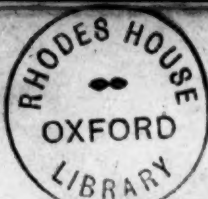
The second resolution was as follows:—

"This meeting being of opinion that amongst the means which may be adopted by British Abolitionists to accomplish the overthrow of slavery, two of the most efficacious are: The moral testimony of religious denominations in this country against that iniquitous system, addressed by way of remonstrance to those denominations in the United States which either defend, or do not condemn it; and the encouragement of the cultivation in India, Africa, and other countries, of cotton and other produce now grown by slave labour: expresses its entire concurrence in that part, especially, of the policy of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, which embraces these operations, and recommends that vigorous measures be adopted to carry it into effect."

Mr. George Thompson, in moving this resolution, took the opportunity to pay a graceful tribute to the Anti-Slavery labours of Mr. Sturge, in connexion with Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other eminent advocates of the cause. Mr. Thompson was loudly cheered, and his presence at this noble meeting was evidently a source of much gratification to all. He was followed by the Rev. S. R. Ward, in a most effective speech, which was most enthusiastically received, and by the Rev. F. Hemming, of Washingtonville, New York. A vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by the Rev. S. R. Ward, and seconded by Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow, having been unanimously adopted, the meeting broke up at a quarter to eleven o'clock.

AMERICAN SLAVE MART.—Some months since, I visited Richmond, Va., for the first time. It is in many respects a beautiful city, and the inhabitants have a good reputation for hospitality and kind attention to strangers. I passed a Sabbath there, and on Monday morning I took a long walk, to see all that was to be seen. In my ramble, I passed a dismal-looking place, which, on inquiry, I found to be appropriated to the buying and selling of "human chattels." Curiosity prompted me to go in, and the scene I witnessed will never be forgotten. It was painfully impressive, and I suppose the great mass of the people of the free States would have felt just as I did. There I saw one feature of slavery, an

awfully abhorrent one, as it is. The weather was unpleasant, and the number of slaves brought in for sale did not exceed ten or twelve. I looked round upon them, and did not wonder that England should point her finger of scorn at us, for our utter inconsistency in "proclaiming liberty to all the people," while we tolerate the odious and abominably wicked domestic traffic in men, women and children. All these were there. One young woman of 22 attracted my special attention. She was remarkably well-proportioned, possessed a fine open countenance, and, in spite of all her ignorance and degradation, was vastly superior to her brutal master. I was shocked at the revolting manner in which buyers examined her, to see how much muscle and power of endurance she possessed. Says one, "Open your mouth;" and then the wretch made his observation, as he would into the mouth of a horse. She held in her arms a child about two years old, as I judged. I said to her,—"How old is your child?" The reply I shall never forget, coming from one who was treated as a horse or a dog:—"He will be two years old, Sir, the 11th day of next February." What a burning indignation I felt, that my country should be so degraded and disgraced in the eyes of the civilised world, by a spectacle of this kind! At length, she was ordered to take the stand. The bidding was spirited, and soon she ran up to 660 dollars. At this point, the auctioneer was about striking her down. Her brutal owner, perceiving it, called out,—"She shall not go at that price; I will sooner take her back to North Carolina. So fine a woman has not been in market for twelve months." And he took her from the stand. Much as I detested him, I talked a little with him about her good qualities. He told me what an amount of labour she could perform—*how many rails she could split in a day*, and remarked,—"She left one child at home. I was sorry for it, but could not help it." I tell you, Mr. Editor, my Puritan blood got almost to the boiling point, and I felt like making an explosion. But it is well that I exercised a little prudence. I could not have helped the poor woman, and should have been lynched, or got a coat of tar and feathers, or at best been put into the lock-up, and fined for a breach of the peace. I saw and heard other things, that filled me with the direst apprehensions with regard to the slavery issue. I had a conversation with a gentleman of Richmond, on the slavery question. He represented the system as fraught with innumerable evils; and worse, said he, for the master than the slave. You would have supposed he was a "son of thunder" in denouncing slavery, and a real Boanerges in his efforts to get rid of it. After saying so much about its abominations, I remarked,—"Why not, then, at least confine it within its present limits? Why extend the area of slavery, as some of your Southern friends wish to do?" His reply was prompt and emphatic; I shall never forget it. "Our slaves," said he, "are our property; we can't afford to lose it. We want a market for our slaves." There it is in a nutshell. I fear, greatly fear, a spirit of practical emancipation does not exist to any considerable extent at the South.—*Correspondent N.Y. Evangelist.*



PROFESSOR ALLEN.

This gentleman, the narrative of whose sufferings appeared in the *Reporter* of June last, is about entering on a lecturing tour in the North of England. The subject of his discourses will be the condition and future prospects of the coloured race. We sincerely trust that he will meet with a kind reception wherever he goes. PROFESSOR ALLEN'S new work on prejudice against colour is about to be issued from the press, and will, we doubt not, command a large class of readers.

REVIEWS.

We are reluctantly compelled, for want of space, to postpone our reviews of the following Works, and of various Pamphlets.

Uncle Tom at Home. By F. C. ADAMS, Esq. Clark, Beeton and Co., 148, Fleet-street.

An Article on Uncle Tom's Cabin, in "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine" for the month of October ultimo.

An Article on the same work, and on The Possible Amelioration of Slavery, in the "North American Review" for October last.

Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa. By BRODIE CRUICKSHANK, Esq. Hurst and Blackett, 13, Great Marlborough St.

A Mission to Central Africa, performed by the late JAMES RICHARDSON, Esq. Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

Clotel; or, the President's Daughter: a Narrative of Slave-life in the United States. By WM. WELLS BROWN. London: Partridge and Oakley.

Death Struggles of Slavery. By HENRY BLEBY. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Was published on the 1st of November last, the First Number of

THE ANTI-SLAVERY WATCHMAN:

A MAGAZINE OF

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM.

NOTICE.

THIS monthly periodical will contain important information on the Slavery Question in America, especially with regard to the American Churches, "the Bulwarks of Slavery." It will also describe the principles, objects, and operations of the various Anti-slavery Societies and parties in the United States, and will explain and enforce the duty of British Abolitionists. As its proprietors have no other object in view but the good of the

cause, they trust it will not be regarded as a rival to any other publication of a similar character. They believe it will be circulated chiefly in channels which have not yet been reached by its excellent contemporaries.

Communications to the Editor to be addressed to F. W. CHESSON, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

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Just published, price 10s. (originally sold at 43 3s.), on India Paper, price 16s. (originally sold at 44 4s.)

A **SPLENDID ENGRAVING**, descriptive of the Slave-Traffic on the Coast of Africa: dedicated to the admirers of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Painted by A. F. BIARD, Esq., engraved by C. E. WAGSTAFF, Esq. Size—31 inches by 24.

To those who have felt much interested in the perusal of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," this justly-celebrated picture is specially recommended. Their best sympathies will be enlisted on behalf of suffering humanity, when they behold such a vivid pictorial representation of one of the earliest in a long series of miseries endured by the Negro race, as they are torn from country and kindred, branded by the first purchaser and stowed away in the hold and between-decks of a slave-ship, more closely than lifeless logs of mahogany, or insensible bales of cotton.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., the original proprietor of this splendid plate—being himself a distinguished abolitionist—relinquishing all regard to profit from its sale, is desirous that this tribute to the active benevolence of our country should be sold at a price low enough to insure the purchase of a copy by every cottager in the kingdom, to grace the walls of his humble dwelling, and to remind him of the strong claims which the oppressed have upon his kindest feelings, till SLAVERY, that greatest blot on the escutcheons of the countries which still encourage it, shall be utterly abolished.

London: WILLIAM TEGG & Co., 85, Queen-street, Cheap-side; SOMERS and ISAACS, 67, Houndsditch.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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